/345 cont./

241 115 The Chiriguano are proud of the extent of their fields. "Captain" Karnapadyú made me walk over all of his, emphasizing its size and the abundance of its produce. Another Chiriguano, after taking me along across all of his plantations, without sparing me one plot of ground, told me as he was bringing me back, with an air at the same time proud and questioning: "Guapo yo" /I am enterprising/. I answered that he was indeed very "guapo." He seemed flattered and happy.

243 593 583 606 The father clears his daughter's field, which represents for her a kind of dowry. The son-in-law must then take care of it, do the sowing and reap the harvest (1). My guide Cipriano

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1. Corrado (p. 155) states that young married couples live at the expense of their parents and that they do not cultivate any chacras nor build a house before having a child.

complained bitterly about his son-in-law, whose laziness had obliged him to harvest his daughter's corn himself.

Chapter III

Cooking and Food

Food Resources

433 224 178 I have eaten meat only very rarely in Chiriguano villages, and I have never had a chance to taste a piece of game. It is not that this latter has disappeared from the region, exterminated by man, but the Chiriguano do not take the trouble to pursue it. In former days they were enthusiastic hunters, like nearly all the Indians of tropical America. When they were expecting guests for a drinking feast, the men went out into the bush and during 15 to 20 days got a good supply of the flesh of the peccary, deer, nandu, pigeon, armadillo, [251] chuña /a wading bird/, and even parrot. To preserve it they dried it in the sun without salt (Nino, pp. 249-258).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 171 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

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775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

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Method of Contracting a Marriage

[581] The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until the old people ask him the reason for his coming. The young [583] man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581] [579] 1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness; looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything 584 cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back 583 repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

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2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

[593] From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband,

[583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591 583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

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583 otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one; this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

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Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle; one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585 A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606] 2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/211 cont./
Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano [illegible]en go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

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C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both Ce [462] sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is C 857 868 462 women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as C 178 592 a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time 583 [591] before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.